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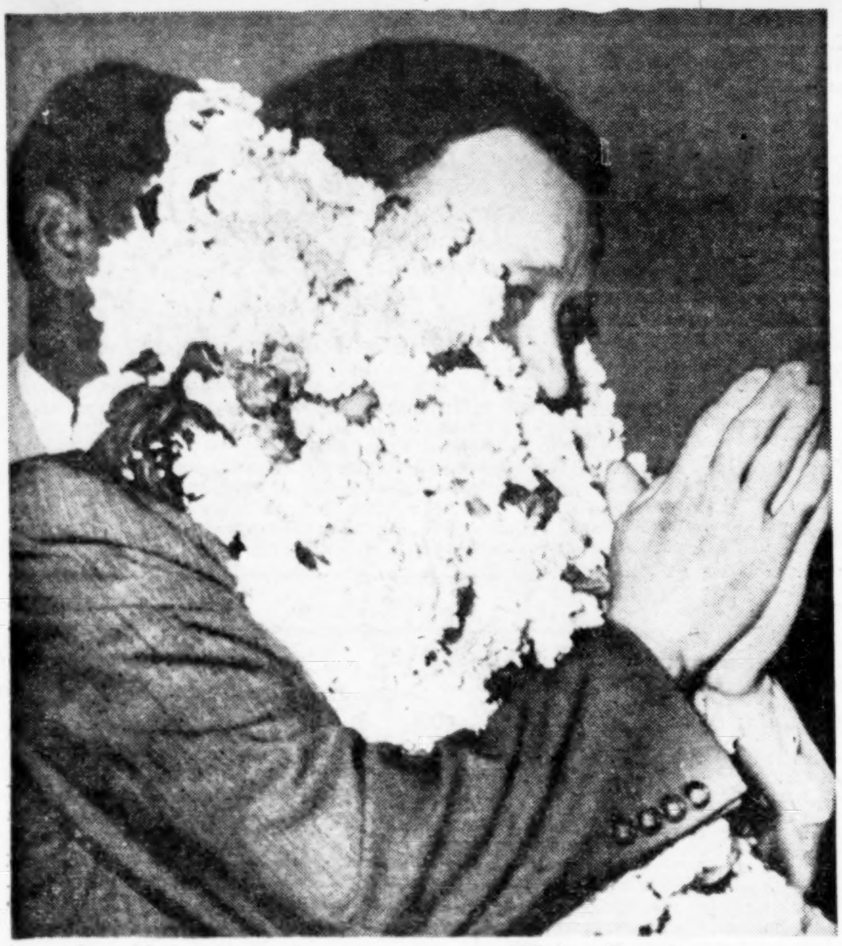

If you look close you can see Walter Reuther

The AFL-CIO leader went to India for a 12-day tour and he got a great welcome. One reason was that he indicated he did not believe Nehru was turning India over to Russia and that the U.S. had no business sticking its nose into the India-Portugal dispute over Goa. After Dulles, Reuther was like a breath of fresh air to the Indians. But what will that doughty cold warrior George Meany say when Reuther gets back home?

ALL LABOR IS THREATENED

New Smith bill offered to upset Nelson ruling

By Lawrence Emery

WHEN the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 1954 reversed the conviction of Communist Party leader Steve Nelson under that state's sedition law on the ground that the Federal Smith Act nullified the state act, one member of Congress was especially aghast. He was Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va.). As the father of the Smith Act of 1940, the last thing in his mind when he conceived it was that it would interfere in any way with the right of the various states to conduct their own witch-hunting in their own way under their own laws. Crux of the Pennsylvania decision was this:

"Sedition against the United States is not a local offense. It is a crime against the nation. As such, it should be prosecuted and punished in the Federal courts. . . . It is . . . vital that such prosecutions should be exclusively within the control of the Federal government."

A NEW SMITH BILL: To Rep. Smith, this thinking itself was almost seditious. Foreseeing the possibility that the U.S. Supreme Court might uphold the Pennsylvania ruling, he went to work that same year, 1954. He considered presenting to Congress a simple amendment to his own Smith Act stating specifically that it was not the intent of Congress in adopting it to supersede any of the sedition laws now on the books in 42 states. But he rejected that as too narrow; to him the whole question was of much larger scope and the sedition dispute "was merely a symptom of a dangerous disease that has threatened to destroy completely the sovereignty of the states."

He drafted a new Smith Bill, covering almost the entire field of general legislation, which would prevent the Supreme Court from inferring Congressional intent in the absence of any Congressional declaration of intent. Nothing happened to the bill in 1954. Rep. Smith reintroduced it in January, 1955, and in that year two days of hearings on it were conducted before a House Judiciary Subcommittee headed by Rep. Francis Walter, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

WHERE IT APPLIES: At one of these hearings last April Smith declared:

"What I want to do is get the principle established, and this part is certainly very simple—to say to the Supreme Court that it is not the intent of Congress to invalidate state laws unless we [the Congress] say so. Period!"

The Smith bill would apply not only to sedition laws, but to legislation covering transportation, Federal regulation of public power and natural gas, public welfare, agriculture, some fields of criminal law and—most crucial to many of Smith's supporters—to labor law. If adopted, the

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WAR & PEACE

Middle East tense as UN head seeks to avert explosion

By Kumar Goshal

LAST WEEK UN Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjold flew to the Middle East under UN Security Council instructions to consult Arab and Israeli leaders on measures to "reduce existing tensions along the armistice demarcation lines."

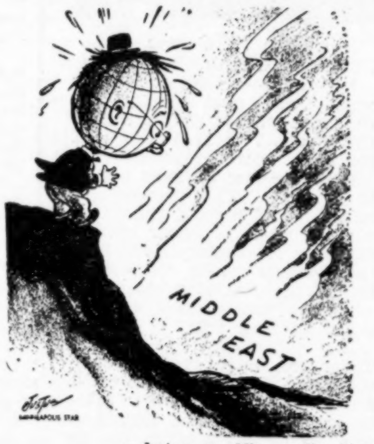
After consulting Egyptian Premier Nasser for five days in Cairo, Hammarskjold left for his temporary headquarters in Beirut, Lebanon, saying he had accomplished "what I came to do." At **Guardian** press time (4/17), Hammarskjold was on his way to Tel Aviv to meet with Israeli Premier Ben-Gurion. A ray of hope of easing tension appeared on the Middle East horizon.

The situation in the Middle East had deteriorated considerably prior to Hammarskjold's arrival.

Almost immediately with the announcement of the Security Council's unanimous decision to send Hammarskjold to the Middle East, the Israeli-Egyptian border warfare grew in intensity during the first week of April. The N. Y. **Times** reported (4/12):

"Egyptians killed four Israelis; the Israelis then killed more than sixty Egyptians in the Gaza strip; the Egyptians then sent their fedayeen commandos in to kill Israelis in revenge; the Israelis then killed commandos. And so it goes."

As Hammarskjold reached Cairo to survey methods to ease tension and to report back in a month, "each side . . .



—Justus in Minneapolis Star
Another Brink

accused the other of having started this chain of incidents to sabotage [his] mission" (NYT, 4/11).

Reaction to the Middle Eastern situation varied in London, Washington, Paris, Tel Aviv and Cairo.

THE BRITISH VIEW: The British were reported (NYT, 4/11) to be "extremely suspicious" of Egypt's Premier Nasser, considering him an "ambitious dictator [dreaming] of leadership over a Middle

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THE FACULTIES FINALLY REVOLT

Teachers assail witch-hunt; censure six big universities

Special to the GUARDIAN
ST. LOUIS

THE MOST influential organization of faculty members in the nation's colleges and universities last week upheld the teacher's right to be judged by his teaching. It lambasted witch-hunting and strongly censured six prominent schools for firing staff members who had refused to sign loyalty oaths or who had invoked the Fifth Amendment before Congressional Committees.

The 400 delegates to the 42nd annual convention of the American Assn. of University Professors, representing 38,000 faculty members, overwhelmingly endorsed the censure resolutions and so ended an eight-year period of frustration and failure to act against political throttling of academic life.

The censured schools are: U. of California, Jefferson Medical College, Rutgers, Ohio State, Temple (for firing Prof. Barrows Dunham), Oklahoma U. Also censured for violations of the "principles of academic freedom and tenure," though no political motivations were involved, were St. Louis U. and North Dakota Agricultural College.

Slated for continuing investigation by the AAUP are New York, Michigan, Vermont and Kansas City Universities and Reed College.

"TOO LONG DELAY": The delegates came to St. Louis angry and grimly determined to pass the resolutions based on recommendations of a special committee and printed in the association's spring bulletin. Before the delegates left their campuses college administrators were plainly worried. Representatives of two schools on the censure list flew down to St. Louis to try to stave off action. A small minority, headed by the Ohio State U. delegation and some from U. of Cal., tried to kill the censure motions by procedural wrangles and proposals for further investigation. Only one to walk out was Prof. George R. Stewart of U. of California. Another group, particularly the Chicago Area Council of the AAUP, tried to strengthen the convention's state-

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REPORT TO READERS

Coast to Coast

I AM STILL BREATHLESS from my whirlwind tour on behalf of the GUARDIAN, full of memories and—I hope—wiser than when I left New York.

During the 32 days I was away, from March 8 to April 10, I visited eight states, gave 26 lectures and went on the air twice. GUARDIAN readers and angels and their friends fully lived up to their reputation for kindness and hospitality.

Though the size of the audiences varied, all were enthusiastic about the two documentary films—Pledge for Peace (Bandung Conference) and Indian Premier Nehru's Tour of the U.S.S.R.—which we were able to present through the courtesy of the Government of India Information Service.

Lively discussions followed every meeting, questions most often asked being: the reappraisal going on in the Soviet Union, Tabitha Petran's series in the GUARDIAN on American economy and the Israeli-Arab conflict. The first, understandably, indicated much confusion; my answer to it was simple and brief but, I am afraid, hardly satisfactory. All I could say was, "I don't know."

THE SECOND QUESTION provoked sharp differences of opinion; but all agreed that the series was worthwhile, if only to bring the issue out in the open for widespread discussion. The last question was the most emotionally charged, continuing long after meetings had officially ended. It also showed the deep sense of loyalty of GUARDIAN readers; for even those who disagreed with the point of view of some GUARDIAN articles on the subject never wavered in their support for their paper.

All in all, it was an exciting and revealing tour for me, and I regret I could not visit GUARDIAN readers in many other places. I hope it was equally rewarding to those I met. I learned much and I heartily recommend similar tours for my colleagues.

TO THOSE WHO MADE many constructive criticisms and suggestions, I thank them and urge them again to write to us. Since it will take me some time to write to those who were so kind to me personally, may I take this opportunity to thank them most sincerely.

I would especially like to send my greetings to my old friend Sidney Roger, whose 15th anniversary of radio broadcasts will be celebrated June 1 at the Merchandise Mart in San Francisco. And my warmest regards to the very thoughtful, understanding and generous Tiba Willner when Californians celebrate simultaneously her 50th birthday, 30th wedding anniversary and 25th year of "Fighting the Good Fight" on April 27 at Larchmont Hall in Los Angeles.

To those whom I addressed, talked and argued with: I hope I will see you all soon.

—Kumar Goshal

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THE MAIL BAG

The 1956 vote

PORTLAND, ORE.

For the first time over many years, I have read something by the great teacher W.E.B. DuBois that has left me absolutely cold. He calls upon progressives to "stay home and let fools traipse to the polls." This proposal reminds me of the old truth that when a union is under conservative or reactionary leadership, the workers "vote with their feet." They just stay home. But what progressive trade unionist would advocate that?

Any progressive in, say, the Teamsters, might rightly envy the West Coast Longshoremen for their achievements and militant democracy and look forward to the day when he can be equally proud of his own union. But shouldn't he seek ways to participate in the affairs of his local today?

This also applies to 1956 politics. For lack of a third party, should I sit out an election (that may be decided by a few hundred votes) that will mean the election or defeat of such outstanding Americans and liberals as Senator Wayne Morse and Representative Edith Green?

Herb Simpson

Herbert Simpson is one of four Portland people indicted for contempt of the Velde Committee for refusing to answer witch-hunt questions. Simpson was fined $250 and sentenced to 10 months in jail. The cases are now on appeal. It should be noted that Dr. DuBois confined himself to the Presidential election.—Ed.

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NEW YORK, N.Y.

DuBois is wrong. Can we not find a man who will work for at least some of the things we Americans so badly need? The most important issue facing us as a nation today seems to me to be integration, complete, immediate and unequivocable. Next, also a domestic issue, civil rights and wound in with integration and civil rights all our economic problems, our bad anti-union laws, like Taft-Hartley. The most important issue facing us outside our nation is the issue of peace with the world. Stevenson is against all these things, and frighteningly more avid for war than Eisenhower.

Eisenhower, kingpin in the tidelands oil give-away and leader of the most right-wing party in the country, is not my choice either. But Kefauver is for integration, now, and he is not for war, but for negotiation with the USSR and her leaders, and he is against the Taft-Hartley law. Is this not the place to form a United Front with fellow-Americans who may not yet know the whole truth but who can learn it? For Kefauver, as I see it, lines up as a man who knows more of what the people desire, need, than any other candidate. He endorses these needs, desires. Not all of them, but some of them. Is it not time for progressives to rally to at least the best of proposed men?

The next four years are important ones. We don't want a repeat of the 1875-1885; this time we want our citizens to receive and keep their right to vote, to representation, to equal opportunity. I fail to see how my throwing away my vote, my keeping silent, can do anything but make those men happiest who hurt the people the most. Black men are still dying here in the U.S. for that right, that voice. If they got the vote, would they have, immediately, the best candidates?

Genevieve Dents

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LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The objective reality of advocating a sit-down strike against voting during the coming political election is to put you as effectively in Ike's camp as the most reactionary Republican, no matter what your professed subjective intent in so doing is.

I shouldn't think it would be so difficult to differentiate Brownell, Slippery Dick McSmear, the Cadillac Cabinet and Ezra T. Benson from Kefauver or even a Stevenson getting elected on issues that we the people choose—such as peace and civil rights—and pulling into office with him a Richard Richards over Knowland's Sen. Kuchel here in Calif., and any liberal Democrat over any reactionary Republican in any other state. The liberal Democrats have certainly a lot to learn, and a good example of one who learned a lot from the people after he got elected was Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Unsigned

•

ERWIN, TENN.

The facetiously facile manner in which W.E.B. DuBois disposes of Estes Kefauver in his March 26 article is disappointing. In this same issue of the GUARDIAN, Eugene Gordon quotes Kefauver on the desegragation ruling in these words: "My position is well known. The Supreme Court has decided and that decision is the law of the land."

Name Withheld

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

At a southeastern advertising conference, John P. Cunningham, president of a New York agency, said that "to maintain our production and our standard of living we must sell luxuries—a second car, a second TV set, outdoor living rooms, swimming pools."

"This may point to a more materialistic civilization than many people want, but we have to do it," Cunningham declared.

Paterson (N.J.) **Evening News**, March 24, 1956

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Anon, Brooklyn, N. Y. Be sure to send original clipping with entry.

Feed for blood

MARNE, MICH.

I read in the Grand Rapids **Press** that the farmers of Norvata, Okla., will have a chance to get a 100-lb. sack of live stock feed free. How? Chas. A. Kitford, chairman of the Norvata General Hospital, said each donor of blood will receive a 100-lb. sack.

Is that a hint to us people that can find no work that we can donate our life blood and maybe get a handout to eat? Surely what they do to the animals they should do for the humans here in U.S..

This item should go in the "How Crazy Can You Get?" Dept.

L.S.R.

Horse & Buggy Ezra

PAROWAN, UTAH

Ezra Benson blames union labor for the plight of the farmer; declares high wages the cause of the farm crisis. An old horse and buggy politician, he cries "overproduction," and that something must be done in order to remove surpluses from the overflowing warehouses without "giving it away" as he puts it.

His solution of the problem has been lowering farm price supports, which would render the little farmer unable to make but a small margin of profit on his sales. He knew this would curtail production and at the same time force the small farmer to mortgage his farm to the banker or to sell out to the big farmer.

It is the same old story of the planned perpetuation of the profit-motive system of scarcity in a land of plenty.

To keep the spotlight off big business, the politicians, their back-slappers, always throw the blame on the wage earner whose dollar is now cut in half as far as purchasing power is concerned. Today the worker must have buying power in order to consume high priced food-stuffs.

If all workers were guaranteed job security and a wage that would guarantee them a decent standard of living, there would be no over-flowing warehouses and mass under-consumption in the U.S.

Olive Carroll

—Wall Street Journal

"I'm new here. What are we making?"

Tough job

MUSKEGON, MICH.

You have a very great paper. Have read a few issues of a friend of mine. Keep up the good work and let's hope more people can find out the truth before a few greedy men drive us to depths so low the return climb will be slow and difficult.

I am 32 years old with five children and believe me it's a tough job raising a family these days.

Jack H. Smutz

Laredo to Aurora

LAREDO, TEX.

Here is what I wrote recently to Paul Eagan, Mayor of Aurora, Illinois:

"I read in the Laredo **Times** on Feb. 26, that you have proposed a 'peace conference' of Soviet and American mayors.

"I am heartily with you and congratulate you for your courage as it seems that anyone who does anything for peace with the socialist countries is classified as a communist in Atty. General Brownell's black list. The organized mayors could certainly make Congress remember the people who elected them more than listening only to certain vested interests."

J. C. Jacobs

Vitamin PP

DULUTH, MIN.

Enclosed find check for $25—a contribution from the Duluth Progressive Party Club. This contribution was raised at activities in the homes of members of our local club. Our sincerest wishes for continued growth of the GUARDIAN.

L. McDowell, Treas. Pro-tem.

The snakeroot set

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A talk on present and future trends in social work at the Jefferson School of Social Science implied that many functions formerly handled (under our capitalist sick society) by social workers are being increasingly usurped by doctors and psychiatrists and psychiatrically trained products of advanced schools of social work. This tends to lay on the individual the blame for his predicament, and too often ignores group and sociological (even militant) solutions to problems on the surface emotional. Bertha Reynolds, the speaker, said that if some of these professionals would look a little farther they'd see environmental causes for many upsets.

It occurs to me that Jesus, Joan of Arc, Mary Wollstonecraft, John Bunyan, William Z. Foster and thousands of lesser lights should have been taking snake-root (reserpine), and other wonder-drugs all their lives, to avoid getting so **excited**. After all, many people for hundreds of years in India took snakeroot whenever they felt emotionally tense, and look at the slough India fell into before she finally got excited and shook Britain off her back.

Social Worker

COLD WAR RIGIDITIES REMAIN

Russia at ECE parley offers West Europe credit

By Tabitha Petran

GENEVA

ALTHOUGH THE 11TH session of the UN's Economic Commission for Europe at Geneva and the London disarmament talks opened promisingly, it soon became apparent that cold war rigidities would prevent any substantial achievements.

ECE executive secretary Gunnar Myrdal of Sweden began hopefully by telling the delegates from 29 European countries and the U.S. that the current session was "the most important since the commission started nine years ago." Acting chairman Julius Katz-Suchy of Poland pointed out that, during the cold war decade, ECE was "the sole international organization" where attempts were made—not always successful—to solve economic problems by means of joint decisions.

But the years of tension, Katz-Suchy said, did not tear Europe apart. Though it solved only minor and marginal problems, ECE survived, and could now tackle East-West relations "on an all-European basis with the perspective of stabilizing those relations by mutual agreement between all European countries."

U.S.S.R. PROPOSES: The U.S.S.R. followed with three proposals for such stabilization, asking the Commission to:

- Draft an all-European agreement on economic cooperation—including extension of trade relations, joint use of natural resources, credits, scientific and technical knowledge, and meetings of businessmen to study economic and trade problems.
- Make recommendations for developing business contacts between East and West European countries, covering reciprocal visits of specialists in industry, transport, trade and agriculture; exchange of students, scientists, teachers, and of scientific and technical information.
- Create a special committee for cooperation on an all-European basis of the development of peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The Soviet delegation also offered to supply W. European countries with industrial equipment on credit. It said it has already supplied on credit to E. Europe equipment worth $5 billion. Some Western delegates privately conceded that the Soviet proposals and offers, yet to be discussed, were "important but embarrassing." Already it is clear, however, that ECE's present session will register in its operations little, if any, of the important changes nearly everyone acknowledges are occurring.

WHAT'S STRATEGIC? The general debate opened with a scarcely veiled attack on U.S. trade policy by the Belgian representative who welcomed the Soviet leaders' recent statements on the need to develop East-West trade as meaning that it could now reach "maximum expansion." But, along with other Western countries, Belgium made clear that nothing will be done to relax the western embargo on sale of "strategic" goods to E. Europe—although the embargo's absurdity can hardly be concealed here.

Repeatedly asking "What is strategic?" socialist delegates point out that their own countries export many of the items so classified and banned. (The U.S.S.R. recalled that it has licensed for production in the U.S. its highly-advanced oil drilling machinery, a "strategic" item under the Western ban.)

Persistence of cold war rigidities was most clearly apparent in the Western refusal to apply the principle of universality to ECE by permitting the German Democratic Republic to participate either as a consultant or as an observer. (GDR and Switzerland are the only European countries without a vote in ECE. Admission of ten European countries to UN last year and W. Germany's membership in the Economic and Social Council added 11 new members to ECE this year.) The vote on representation of GDR—17 against, 11 for (socialist countries plus Yugoslavia and Finland) and one abstention (Sweden)—was a sharp reminder that in Europe the East-West division is very close.

ANOTHER FREE WORLD DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE IN THE MAKING?
The red carpet was out all over the place for the visit of Spanish Foreign Minister Artajo shown above (c.) with Secy. Dulles and Spanish Ambassador Areilza (l.). But the strikes in Spain last week indicated that Franco would need more than carpets.

WONDERLAND: The London disarmament talks also suffer from cold war rigidities, although the new Soviet plan meets every Western condition. It lays aside, for the time being, the question of nuclear disarmament since the U.S. has long insisted that conventional disarmament must come first. Regarding conventional disarmament, it simply adopts the Western powers' previous proposals. London's **Sunday Times** summed up Western reaction: RUSSIAN ARMS PLAN DISMAYS THE WEST.

The Soviet plan adopts the armed forces levels previously agreed to by Britain and France. It reviews British Prime Minister Eden's buffer zone plan embracing both Germanies and some neighboring states in a zone of disarmament, subject to inspection and controls. The Western effort again to disavow its own progeny led the London **New Statesman** to observe two basic rules in the "Alice in Wonderland logic" of East-West negotiations:

"Everything Russia proposes is bad. Everything the West proposes is good—until Russia proposes it too."

Reaction to the U.S. disarmament plan has been negative in both Britain and France, since its suggested ceilings on armed forces would not much affect the armies of either the U.S. or its allies.

FRANCO AND FRANCE: Progress toward disarmament is blocked by Bonn Chancellor Adenauer as well as by the Pentagon. French Premier Mollet's reiteration that the road to German unity lies through disarmament provoked a violent reaction in Bonn, where an official Foreign Office communique accused him of "veering toward Russian ideas." Yet last week Bonn indicated that it could approach Moscow directly on the question of German reunification.

The French socialist government's attempts at a more independent stand in world affairs have, in fact, brought down on its head the wrath of all its major allies, who are now intriguing to end this initiative. According to French newspapers, the British, angered by Foreign Minister Pineau's successful talk in New Delhi and Cairo, have inspired the Arab League states to attack France for its Algerian policy, and have thus forced cancellation of Pineau's projected Middle East visit this past week.

American pressure is apparent in reports from Spain of a proposed Washington-sponsored West Mediterranean Pact, embracing Spain, Morocco and Tunisia. This pact, reportedly discussed by Franco and Morocco's Sultan Ben Youssef, would then be linked indirectly with NATO. The Spanish Foreign Minister's flying visit to Washington is linked with this project as well as with efforts to strengthen the weakening Franco government.

RIGHT TURN: The French government's ability to stand off these pressures is being progressively undermined by its step-by-step capitulation to the right on Algeria. Mass roundups of Algerians over Easter weekend, coupled with the arrest of a leading fighter for peace in Algeria, Claude Bourdet, have been followed by the decision to call up the reserves to provide the 100,000 men Resident General Lacoste claims he needs immediately in Algeria (another 100,000 "will be needed later").

These steps taken by a government elected on a pledge to make peace in Algeria led the conservative Catholic writer Francois Mauriac to declare (**L'Express**, 4/6):

"What is a socialist minister? Now we know. A socialist minister is one who carries out the dirty work the country would not suffer from a government of the right."

(See story on p. 8)

NEGRO'S DECLARATION OF INTENTION

The Dixiecrats get a reply

NINETEEN SENATORS and 77 Representatives from the South on March 11 pledged in a "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" to "use all lawful means" to reverse the U. S. Supreme Court anti-jimcrow decision. They were answered on April 3 by "The Negro's Declaration of Intention," written by the Rev. J. H. Jackson for the Natl. Baptist Convention, of which he is president.

The Dixiecrats' declaration called the high tribunal decision "a clear abuse of judicial power" which, in upsetting the "separate but equal" doctrine, interfered with "a part of the life of the people of many of the states . . . their habits, customs, traditions." A feature of the Southerners' "manifesto" was its repeated pledge—according to the N. Y. **Amsterdam News** (3/24)—to find "a legal way to commit an illegal act."

THIRD OF THE PEOPLE: The Negro Baptists' declaration, on the other hand, based on "interviews of college presidents and professors, high school principals and teachers, ministers of religion . . . labor leaders, farmers, day laborers, and the men on the street," promised "to support the Federal Constitution, to obey the laws of the land, to avoid contempt of courts, and to respect the judgments and decrees of the Supreme Court of the United States of America, and to always abide by the same." The Natl. Baptist Convention represents more than 4,500,000 communicants, or nearly a third of the U. S. Negro population.

The "Declaration of Intention" said in part:

"We intend to participate in the cultural life of the nation, both for personal growth and development and for the further progress of the country itself. We intend always to cherish and to give thanks for those natural endowments and special gifts that have made our race great; and [we] pledge all of our talents and resources in the building of a better social order and a more democratic world.

"In spite of the doctrine of the segregationist, we shall always believe that the basic quality of real distinction is character, not color, and [that] the stature of a person is determined by the power of his mind, the purity of his heart, and the highest possible dedication of his life.

—Afro-American, Baltimore

They always seem to flock together.

"THE FALSE DOCTRINE": "We intend to crusade against all the evils in our society that are designed to poison creative human relationships and to crush the constructive growth of human personality; and [we intend] to fight against the false doctrine which claims that some men are, by origin, birth and nature, superior to others.

"While we shall recognize a need for the patience that accompanies growth, we intend at all times to reject that doctrine of gradualism which implies that the established laws of the land should be gradually applied and gradually obeyed in order to respect the unjust traditions of men and to give free reign and honor to destructive prejudices.

"We intend to take every legal step to employ every constructive measure and to cooperate with every group of loyal Americans in the struggle to preserve all of the nation's ideals, and to overcome every economic, political and cultural stumbling block that hinders the further progress of this great republic."

The Declaration was sent to President Eisenhower, the Cabinet, all members of Congress and governors of all the states.

Not $500, but . . .

FALLBROOK, CALIF.

Enclosed is $5. I wish it was $500 but working folks don't have that much money. Use this money to keep the GUARDIAN going, for without it we would really be poor. It doesn't take me long to read it over the first time, but it takes me all week to read and re-read and digest the contents. I get more information from the GUARDIAN than all the other papers put together. **Alick S. Hedge**

Middle East tense

(Continued from Page 1)

East coalition absolutely free of Western influence." Believing that Nasser's goal was to deprive Britain of Middle East oil —and that he might achieve this goal "even without war" — London urged Washington to join "in vigorous measures to impose a Western solution on the Middle East" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 4/11).

Washington was reported unmoved by British urging. It was said to prefer the argument of its Ambassador in Cairo, Henry Byroade, that Nasser should be "appeased" lest he be pushed "into the Communist camp," causing the West to lose the whole oil-rich Middle East (**The New Republic**, 4/16). Straddling the issue, Washington denied U.S. arms to Israel, but approved the sale of aircraft by Britain and France.

Before taking off for a golf vacation in Georgia, President Eisenhower conferred with Secy. Dulles with "utmost seriousness" on the "repeated incidents of hostility" in the Middle East. The Administration later issued a statement pledging that, "in accordance with its responsibilities under the UN Charter," the U.S. "will observe its commitments within constitutional means to oppose any aggression" in the Middle East. Exactly what this meant nobody seemed to know.

Following Washington's go-ahead signal, France sold eight jet planes to Israel and promised to deliver four more soon. Israel was negotiating for arms from Canada also.

THE FRENCH VIEW: French reaction to the U.S. "position of resolute indecision" was indicated in an article by Raymond Aron in the conservative newspaper **Le Figaro** (4/12):

"American diplomacy rather cynically invites us to take the responsibility for supplying Israel with modern aircraft in the hope that Arab anger will spare the U.S. and be turned on us. Rarely has a country desiring to be a leader so wretchedly abdicated its responsibilities."

To the French suggestion that the 1950 tripartite declaration to oppose aggression on the Israeli-Arab border be transformed into a quadripartite declaration, with Soviet participation, U.S. officials were reported having no intention "to recognize that the Soviet Union had a legitimate role in the Middle East" (**NYT**, 4/11).

THE ISRAELI VIEW: In Tel Aviv reaction was mixed, but there seemed to be unanimous determination to fight to the bitter end to maintain Israel's integrity. The liberal newspaper **Al Hamishmar** asked why the government did not seek planes and arms wherever they might be available, instead of continually begging Washington. Premier Ben-Gurion opposed Western military intervention, demanded a "foolproof cease-fire" order and pledges for cessation of hostilities from Nasser (AP, 4/14).

From Cairo, where "there were no outward signs [of shifting] to a war economy" (**NYT**, 4/15), a report to the **GUARDIAN** said Arab leaders believed that London and Washington planned to "provoke a new Arab-Israeli war." This would give the West an opportunity to take "firm action to stem the tide of independence in the Middle East."

"GET TOUGH" POLICY: The Cairo report said:

"An Egyptian journalist told this correspondent that government circles—with which he has close connections—considered that the get-tough-with-Nasser clique in the U.S. State and Defense Departments has scored a victory. This was accomplished by Herbert Hoover Jr. —known in the Middle East as 'under secretary in charge of oil affairs'—who advocates 'firm action' to avoid upsetting the 'stability' of oil producing countries by 'yielding to Egypto-Syrian blackmail'."

According to the report Egypt feels the West plans to overthrow Nasser because of his "challenge," which Cairo says "consists of nothing less than the rise of capitalism in a region where foreign hegemony depends upon the maintenance of feudalism. In the Middle East Anglo-American exporters have enjoyed since the war an open-door trade treatment; local textile industries are idle (in Iran, the shutdown is 100% effective); cash crops of cotton and rice rot in warehouses; corrupted military leaders snatch the lion's share of the budget (in Iraq 35%, Turkey 40%, Iran 52%)." The charge against Iran was confirmed by a U.S. government investigation last week.

THE BASIC ISSUES: While Israeli-Arab tension increased, various capitals interpreted events to suit their special interests, and while Secy. Hammarskjold attempted to restore the status quo on the armistice border, the basic issues of great power unity and freedom of the people of the Middle East from domestic and foreign exploitation remained to be solved.

The obvious first step towards peace in the Middle East, as Walter Lippmann pointed out (4/10), was for London and Washington to realize that "the Soviet Union is now present as a great power in the international affairs of the Middle East."

Noting that the U.S. by its move to send Hammarskjold on a Middle East mission accepted the necessity of securing Soviet concurrence in the UN Security Council, Lippmann wondered how this move could square with the policy of the Baghdad Pact which "would not recognize the Soviet Union in dealing with the Palestine conflict or with the strategic and economic problems of the Middle East."

4-POWER GUARANTEE: The first step, therefore, would be for a four-power guarantee for the maintenance of status quo in the Middle East; for, as Lippmann asked, "Can we have collaboration [with Moscow] at the UN and non-recognition and exclusion outside the UN?"

The obvious second step would be to scrap the anti-Soviet Baghdad Pact, to be followed by a conference of representatives of all Middle Eastern States, together with representatives of the Big Four, as partially suggested by Sen. Kefauver. This conference would discuss how to eliminate military bases and foreign exploitation of and rivalry over oil resources, which are at the root of the Middle Eastern turmoil.

MONTANA MAN FREE IN BOND

Judge blasts Hoover in Hellman case

A FEDERAL JUDGE last week denounced FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover for "un-American, unfair tactics". The comments were made by Judge William D. Murray in Butte, Mont., in a decision reducing bail for John Cyril Hellman, charged under the Smith Act with being a member of the Communist Party.

Hellman was indicted by a grand jury in Great Falls, Mont., and arrested at his home on April 5. Judge Murray originally set bail at $20,000. Before the hearing for reduction of bail on April 13 Hoover was quoted in the press as charging that Hellman was touring Montana and Idaho as a CP organizer.

After a one-hour hearing Judge Murray ruled that precedents set in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals required that the bail be limited to $5,000 and so ordered it. Then he added:

"I might say . . . that some people may think that the statements made by people outside of court is something that the court can consider in deciding a matter of this kind. For example, I read in the paper a statement issued by J. Edgar Hoover as to certain facts, or at least what he claims to be facts, with reference to this case. I can only say that such statements by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation are wrong: they are not in accord with the American principle of trial in a court; and I condemn in the strongest terms possible the issuance of statements by police officials or investigating officers with reference to the facts of a case, presenting them to the public in an effort, apparently, to try the case outside of court.

"If this case had been in my division, immediately that I saw such a statement, Mr. Hoover and his agents would have been called before me to account for such un-American, unfair tactics, and so, I say to you and to all the public that Mr. Hoover's statements as to facts are not before this court, and the court makes no decision upon anything Mr. Hoover may believe, whether they be true or not. The place to present those facts is in court, and let him be advised of it."

Hellman was released from Silver Bow County jail on property bonds posted by friends.

NEW YORK

What Do YOU Say About Academic Freedom?

Dr. Albert Einstein Said:

By academic freedom I undertand the right to search for truth and to publish and teach what one holds to be true. This right implies also a duty: one must not conceal any part of what one has recognized to be true. It is evident that any restriction of academic freedom acts in such a way as to hamper the dissemination of knowledge among the people and thereby impedes rational judgment and action.

Dr. Corliss Lamont Said:

Academic freedom means that all teachers and other employees in school, college or university are entitled to full liberty of expression and association, as guaranteed under the Bill of Rights, without any interference or penalization on the part of the educational institution which employs them. The teacher has the right to say what he chooses in the classroom, as long as he maintains recognized standards of competence and scholarship and does not indulge in propaganda for any particular viewpoint. Students also have the right to express their opinions and join organizations, and to participate in extra-curricular activities that remain within the bounds of reasonable regulations established by the institution.

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SINGER GETS AN OVATION

Birmingham press hits attack on Cole; evidence of lynch attempt uncovered

SIX MEMBERS of the White Citizens Council rushed down the aisle of Birmingham's packed Municipal Auditorium Tuesday night, April 10. Two scrambled over the footlights to the stage, knocked singer Nat ("King") Cole to the floor and broke the nose of a policeman who interfered. Others fought policemen in the orchestra pit. Cole's head struck the piano stool and his back was wrenched. The all-white audience of nearly 4,000 looked on in shocked surprise.

Police officer H. E. Schatz testified in Recorder's Court April 13 that he was off duty that night but had been called back because of rumors that "something was going to happen." A group of White Citizens Councils three days earlier had begun a campaign against "rock and roll" and "bebop", terming it Negro music. The campaign was spearheaded by 43-year-old Jesse W. Mabry in **The Southerner**, WCC organ, of which he is associate editor. Mabry was arrested with W.R. Vinson, 23, and Kenneth Adams, 35, two who actually reached the stage and assaulted Cole.

ROPE READY: Police said the attack was planned four days earlier at a gasoline filling station owned by ex-convict and WCC leader Adams, at Anniston, 60 miles from Birmingham. They said the plan was for 150 men to scatter through the audience and, on signal, rush the singer. They did not say what they intended to do with Cole, but police found what was described as a get-away car waiting with two men, rifles, rope, a blackjack and brass knuckless.

Cole, neither a "bebop" nor a "rock and roll" musician, was singing a sentimental ballad when attacked. The majority of the audience, all white, gave the singer a 10-minute standing ovation when he reappeared briefly. Afterward he sang for a jimcrowed Negro audience in the same auditorium. In Raleigh, N.C., on April 14, Cole, after singing before another jimcrowed group, explained that he had rejected an NAACP appeal to join because "I'm crusading in my own way . . . as a gentleman." He said he was "only a professional entertainer, not a politician," and therefore did not intend openly to oppose jimcrow.

ALABAMA SHOCKED: Although he was "not angry at anybody," some white Alabamans were. The Birmingham **News** called the attack "outrageous," said Alabama was "deeply shocked and shamed," and called for the "fullest investigation of the case." The law, the **News** declared, "should move promptly toward prosecution." Mrs. Mary O. Brewer of Birmingham wrote to the **News** that she was "not the only one" who thought the attackers should be punished. A "former Alabaman, native of Selma, and a frequent visitor to Birmingham" — Edward E. Eagle — wrote from New York:

"An incident such as this injures not only the good name of Birmingham but the whole country . . . We must remember that 75% of the world's population is 'colored' and America needs friends now as never before."

Ala. State Sen. Sam Engelhardt, exec. director of the Assn. of Citizens Councils, on April 13 blasted "Ace" Carter, exec. sec. of the N. Alabama Citizens Council, as a "fascist" because Carter excludes Jews and allegedly condones violence. Engelhardt said: "The Citizens Councils of Alabama have no room for 'Ace' or any of his kind." Carter retorted that the senator was angry because he couldn't control this "people's movement" in the "cowardly" manner Engelhardt favored.

—Herblock in Washington Post
"Tote that barge! Lift that boycott! Ride that bus!"

LETTERS FROM THE READERS

The Russian reappraisal and us

All-Left unity

PARIS, FRANCE

In the light of recent Soviet and Communist comments abroad, U.S. Communists will surely want to review past programs and practices and take a fresh, uninhibited look at America. Left-wing socialists and progressives may also be moved to do some soul-searching and serious thinking, too.

Has not the moment come, therefore, for the scattered forces of the Left in the U.S. (GUARDIAN, P.P., A.L.P., C.P., **Monthly Review, American Socialist,** Socialist Labor, leftwing unions, etc.) to indulge in some frank give and take; to discuss common aspirations, and to take positive steps soon towards reconstitution? What is to be lost if, while remaining faithful to the principles of scientific socialism and while continuing to draw useful lessons from the experience (and mistakes) of socialism abroad, the Left strikes out boldly at home in a search for new forms of organization; working rules and action which, consistent with our national heritage and character, will permit us to fight capitalism more effectively and perhaps even to make socialism a reality in our time?

Carried out forthrightly and openly, the reconstitution of the Left in a new party could provide a home for all those who rightly cannot pretend to be Democrats when they are socialists. It could resolve the "split personality" problem by making it possible to work with, though not in, the Democratic Party. Without compromising principles or final objectives, united socialists could certainly work for the election of "popular front" candidates in farmer-labor-Negro coalitions.

A new era, with great potentialities, appears to be opening as a result of the enormous progress and success of socialism and of the awakening of the colonial peoples. Will the Left at home overcome division in time to meet the challenge?

Hopeful

Cult of individual

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A leading Italian Communist, Sen. Umberto Terracini, has written in his party's paper, **Unita**: "It is said that the demolition of Stalinism has been in course for three years. We have no knowledge of it." If he has no knowledge of it, he merely demonstrated the failure of Communist leaders outside the Soviet Union to make any attempt seriously to study developments there.

In January, 1954, the USSR Party Central Committee adopted a resolution "On Serious Shortcomings in the Work of the Party and Government Apparatus," directed against "bureaucratic and formal methods of leadership"; and in August of that year its inner organ, **Party Life**, spelled out the situation in the following words:

"Propagation of the cult of the individual has adversely affected the education of personnel, has led in a number of cases to depriving local organizations of responsibility, and has doomed the large, skilled staffs of republic, province and district administrative agencies to passivity and inertia.

"Under these circumstances officials have appeared in various Party, Soviet and economic agencies who have bureaucratic mentalities and who have made it a habit to follow the 'letter of the law' and who do not move a step without instructions from above... When Party democracy and the principles of collective leadership are violated, incorrect relations between Communists inevitably arise—they begin to regard each other as higher and lower employees rather than as equal members in a militant union of ideologically united Communists. This creates soil favorable to the growth of repulsive remnants of capitalism such as toadying, obsequiousness and careerism."

This article is but one example of a serious campaign to uproot these phenomena, and there is much evidence, prior to the recent Congress, of considerable success.

William Mandel

Lancaster in Daily Express, London
"Want any old portraits taken down?"

To command respect

PLAINFIELD, VT.

Just a note to express our warm admiration for the Spectator column of a few weeks ago "Roll Out the Barrel" in which you attack the policy of false alliances with the right. It is a splendid piece, devastatingly accurate. How I wish that the GUARDIAN could rise to the same level of hard-hitting, fearless objectivity in its reporting and analysis of foreign affairs! Certainly Tabitha Petran has proved herself an outstanding economic analyst. But her foreign affairs columns, more than anything else, cause the people we would like to interest in the GUARDIAN to ticket it as an organ of Soviet propaganda.

True, the GUARDIAN did not join the jackals against Anna Louise Strong and Tito and the Jewish doctors. True, it took up the cudgels for the Rosenbergs. All to its credit. But can you honestly say the GUARDIAN ever disapproved of or evaluated critically the actions and character of the Stalin regime? Or of any other Socialist regime? Alas, now, if it does so, it still remains in the position of jumping on the Soviet bandwagon. It will take a long period of soul-searching and re-education by the staff to see the world picture in a way that can command the respect of the independent left. Yet it is never too late to change and learn.

The intelligent American progressive must be prepared to distinguish between the achievements of socialist countries and the day-to-day actions of transitional society and their very human and imperfect leaders. World society has not yet emerged from the chrysalis of power politics. Inevitably each nation will from time to time during this era help or hinder the cause of peace and progress while acting in its own self-interest. To strengthen and initiate wholesome policies, to oppose and forestall harmful ones, by vigilant analyses and forceful journalism, is one of the major tasks of the progressive press.

It is our hope that the GUARDIAN will rise to this opportunity.

Florence Woodard

The Spring of the H-Bomb Tests

H-bomb May Make Mankind Sterile—News Item

Now every ancient star is done and gone;
news flashes beat out signals in sun waves
to focus on our hearts that flame with dawn
the burning headline of this day of days:

telling the world a kind of spring is here
bringing us cobalts to redeem our age;
or do we give up loving in our fear
of unborn children tattooed with its rage?

I thought I saw the lovers — dancing, young;
I thought I saw them lifting up their hands
in rows and rows of children from the earth;

I thought I saw them reaching for the sun;
I thought I saw them—children of all lands
asking us, mothers, fathers—**give us birth!**

— **Walter Lowenfels**

Forbes honored in Phila Apr. 27

THE REV. Kenneth Ripley Forbes will be honored at a reception on Fri. eve., April 27, at Christ Church Neighborhood House on N. 2nd St., Philadelphia. Featured speakers will be Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Rev. William Howard Melish.

Reservations are $2 and may be made by writing Elizabeth P. Frazier, 8024 Roanoke St., Phila. 18, or by calling CH 7-4424, in Phila.

Gale Sondergaard in Chicago Apr. 27-28

GALE SONDERGAARD, Academy Award winning actress, will perform in four dramatic climaxes from plays dealing with women at the 11th St. Theatre, 72 E. 11 St., Chicago, on Sat. and Sun. nights, April 28 and 29. Tickets are $1.75, $2.75 and $3.75 and may be obtained from Allied Art. Corp., 20 N. Wacker Dr., FR 2-0566.

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MALENKOV DID A BANG-UP JOB AS ADVANCE MAN

Britain is friendly for Bulganin-Khrushchev visit

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

IN THE BREATHING SPELL between Malenkov's whirlwind tour and the impending state visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev, British big shots are beginning to think that the late Dale Carnegie was right in coming here to open up his courses in How to Win Friends and Influence People.

When Malenkov's tour had hardly got started, lamentations were already drifting over from Washington about the "tendency toward neutrality" in Britain, and the U.S. Information agency was asking Congress to sweeten the kitty for U.S. propaganda here. Malenkov has made Washington's and the Tory government's headache much worse. He has, as a Newcastle alderman told that city's council in vainly begging it to accept an invitation for a delegation to visit the U.S.S.R., "accomplished more in the way of propaganda in two weeks than Russia has accomplished in the last 20 years."

SOMETHING ABOUT FIRE: Prime Minister Eden is up to his neck in trouble as he shines up the state silver for B and K. In the diplomatic talks he will have with them, he desperately needs to confront them with a united Western policy on major issues. But France's Guy Mollet is sounding off about the West's sterility and inflexibility on such matters as disarmament and the Middle East, to which, he says, Western policies are "setting fire." Washington with elections ahead asks wide-eyed, "Where's the fire?" while systematically working to oust its allies from what Mid-East positions they still hold.

Eden's government itself is "too demoralized, its leader too fearful for his own future" to make a positive policy re-assessment (**New Statesman & Nation,** 4/7). From whatever position he talks to B and K, it will hardly look like one of unity or strength.

PLENTY OF RED TAPE: Two things are making the British press's face red on the eve of the B and K visit. One is the report from Moscow of pressure by the Soviet leaders for more time on their British agenda to visit factories and meet workers. The report said that British authorities "were unwilling to grant the request because several factories they want to see are on part time" (**Daily Express,** 4/5).

The other is the fantastic security precautions being set up for the visit by the Foreign Office. Reporters wanting to attend the press conference have to send to the Foreign Office two photos and "name, nationality, date and place of birth and nature of employment" in duplicate, to get the two passes needed for admission. (I have sent the only pictures I have—taken in New York's West St. jail last year—and am still waiting for my passes.) The **Daily Mail** (3/31), commenting in a page-one editorial on the contrast between this and the "efficient but unobtrusive" security arrangements the Russians made for Malenkov, said:

"This is Red tape with a capital R . . . Throughout Mr. Malenkov's visit reporters have had far better treatment from Russian than from British officials."

ETON AND LIVERPOOL: Startled by Malenkov's double-oscar performance as a Soviet representative here, the British are wondering whether not only their policies but their selling methods need re-appraisal. The **Express** reporter who trekked around Britain with Malenkov sums up: "Not once, **not once** have I seen him put his foot wrong . . . His personal charm is unbounded" and impressed power officials, political leaders and factory cleaning women alike:

"The impact he has made cannot be erased . . . In Eton, the home of Britain's youthful aristocracy, the welcome he received was no less spontaneous than the

—Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

Sir Winston Churchill resigned a year ago.

greeting at Liverpool docks. From Canterbury to Carlisle it was the same. Not one boo. Not one hiss. Not one demonstration . . . [His] irresistible fascination for children is genuine and sincere . . . At Seascale, in Cumberland, a whole village of schoolchildren on holiday turned out to see him. There, before his followers had risen from their beds, [he] was walking the tide-swept sands with his youthful companions. They marched arm in arm, chattering about swimming and fishing, about school and hobbies. And there was no one there to see. No one to impress. No one to absorb propaganda."

FRIENDLY CRITICISM: The **Express** called Malenkov "a Liberace of diplomacy"; MP's describe him as "a Russian Estes Kefauver" who could give any candidate lessons in electioneering techniques. While never missing a chance to pay compliments, he could also join in friendly criticism of aspects of Britain and his own country alike. When the London County Council's chairman said, "We frequently talk too much," Malenkov set off a mutual self-criticism bee by chiming in: "Yes, we have that trouble too." All were amazed that such a tour-de-force could be achieved by a man who never before visited a Western country.

His farewell press reception at the Soviet Embassy was the first such shindig in his life and the most remarkable one I ever attended. The big, old-fashioned salon, with its elaborate pendant candelabra recalling the days when the house was a British aristocrat's palace, was packed tight by some 300 reporters and five movie cameramen. Into this mass of humanity, kleig lights and cables and sound recorders, Ambassador Malik and British power chief Sir Walter Citrine led Malenkov to sit beneath an ormolu gilt clock and take the fire of questions. He answered questions on Stalin and other tricky issues diplomatically but not evasively, but scored his big goal with this reply to a request for his views on British women: "It's very difficult to make love through an interpreter."

THE MAN IN A PUB: At the end, I saw something I've never seen at the countless press receptions for moguls and movie stars I have attended: hard-boiled reporters swarming around their victim for autographs on their copies of his prepared statement. What he said was less important than his completely relaxed and cordial manner. He not only looked like no more and no less than a chap you would be having a beer with in a pub, but acted that way. There wasn't a hint of the VIP about him, and this is what has most staggered the VIP's of Britain and most impressed the man and woman in the street and factory. One worker who met and chatted with him told me his mates were all talking about the contrast between Malenkov and John Foster Dulles, who on his constant visits to Britain is never seen out of the company of cabinet ministers, duchesses and industrialists.

Before B and K even arrive, Malenkov has made the British people look forward to it as if a couple of old friends were coming on a visit. The press can elicit not one advance boo or hiss for B and K from typical Britons and is making out as best it can with waspish articles by Sir Tom O'Brien, former Trade Union Congress president (**Daily Telegraph,** 4/6), and former Labour Premier Earl Attlee, who has just been presented with the royal garter (**Sunday Express,** 4/8).

CONTRAST OF EMPIRE: Meanwhile the VIP's are worrying about the salesmanship potentialities of the forthcoming empire jaunts by Princess Margaret and the Queen's husband, the Duke of Edinburgh. The **Observer** (4/8) criticizes the way the Queen's recent trip to Nigeria was handled with "archaic ritual, both of the 'Governor's tea party' type and of the tribal dancing variety." It says that "bitter resentment" was felt by "emancipated Nigerians" and suggests that Margaret "break away from the restricted world of Government House and make contact with the Queen's African and Indian subjects on their own ground."

The Duke of Edinburgh's 3½-month empire junket was announced just as the people of Ceylon were riding Sir John Kotelawala—who raised almost the only pro-Western voice among Asian and African delegates at the Bandung conference—out of office on a tide of votes. The Duke's itinerary as an empire salesman includes the islands of Tristan de Cunha (population 300), Ascension (population 140) and St. Helena.

New Smith bill

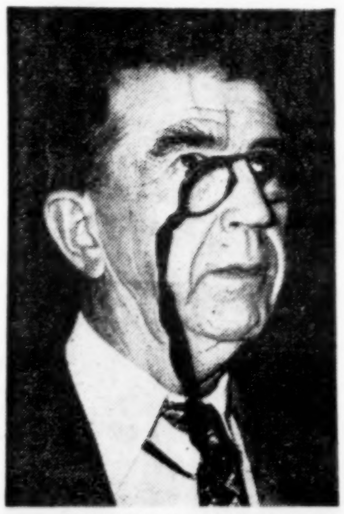
(Continued from Page 1)

Smith bill could also have a paralyzing effect on the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision.

THE GATHERING STORM: The Smith bill has received little public attention but powerful backing for it has been quietly building up and has begun to snowball since the Supreme Court announced its Nelson decision early this month. It has now been sponsored in the Senate by 13 Senators, 12 of them powerful Southerners. On April 6 it got the public backing of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce which demanded its "speedy approval" to "remove any question of Federal intent to prevent states from punishing sedition." It has the full backing of the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers which has said that the need for it is "'more apparent in the field of labor relations" than in most others.

Smith is now fighting strenuously to get the bill to the House floor; it is his firm belief that in the present charged atmosphere it stands an excellent chance of passage. Once on the floor, the bill would present some ironic aspects—an issue arising from a so-called sedition case would embrace vast areas of progressive and labor legislation and top labor leaders, for example, would be compelled to defend the Nelson ruling to save their own interests.

The entire post-war witch-hunt will have come full circle: what began ostensibly as a legislative assault solely against a "communist conspiracy" will have become an attack on all modern social legislation.



HOWARD W. SMITH

He never stops trying

FEET ARE DRAGGING: On a narrower front, few states showed any disposition to accept the Nelson ruling without a fight; Sen. James O. Eastland's defiance of the Supreme Court seemed to be catching. On Aprill 11 the Natl. Assn. of Attorneys General, embracing the chief law enforcement officers of all the states, attacked the Nelson ruling. The Association's executive committee unanimously approved a proposed amendment to the Smith Act to establish concurrent Federal and state jurisdiction in sedition cases; in addition, the attorneys general of five states endorsed the broader Smith bill.

THE SWEEZY CASE: In New Hampshire Paul M. Sweezy, co-editor of **The Monthly Review,** an independent socialist journal, filed a court challenge of his conviction for contempt under a state sedition law. State Atty. Gen. Louis C. Wyman, one of the leaders in the attack on the Nelson ruling, is opposing the move on the ground that the Supreme Court decision "does not . . . invalidate those portions of our basic law which deal with the overthrow of the Federal government." He has called the Supreme Court opinion "a body blow to the twin causes of anti-communism and states' rights" and says "it is still a crime in New Hampshire to advocate the overthrow of the State of New Hampshire."

THE OTHER STATES: Massachusetts' attorney general has declared that "no state, least of all Massachusetts, should remain impotent to protect her government and her people against the menace of local subversive groups."

The California attorney general's office has expressed "doubt" that that state's criminal syndicalism statute is invalidated.

New York's attorney general has promised a quick "advisory opinion" on the ruling's effect in that state.

In Kentucky, where Carl Braden is under a 15-year sentence under that state's sedition law because he and others aided a Negro family acquire a home in a segregated neighborhood, officials last week were still seeking ways to circumvent the Supreme Court ruling.

Braden and his wife Anne, also under a sedition indictment, will speak at a rally in Los Angeles under the auspices of the So. California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union on April 27.

A party for our own Tiba

RECENT pronouncements on the cult of the individual notwithstanding, the Los Angeles Friends of the GUARDIAN are paying tribute to our own Tiba Willner on Friday, April 27. The celebration is to honor Tiba's 50th birthday (she doesn't look a day over 30); 30th wedding anniversary (a child bride) and 25th year "fighting the good fight" (what happened during those other five years?)

Red Callendar and his orchestra will play for dancing and there will be an entertainment program. The place is Larchmont Hall, 118 N. Larchmont Av., and the door contribution is $1.50. All are welcome—and bring your friends.

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

FIFTH AMENDMENT REHABILITATED

Slochower decision is boost for civil liberties in U. S.

By Elmer Bendiner

IN A FIVE-FOUR decision last week, the U.S. Supreme Court rehabilitated the Fifth Amendment which every witch-hunting Congressional committee has tried to discredit as a shield for the guilty. They made it fashionable to sneer at "Fifth-Amendment Communists."

In its decision ruling unconstitutional the 1952 dismissal from Brooklyn College of Dr. Harry Slochower, the court said:

"At the outset we must condemn the practice of imputing a sinister meaning to the exercise of a person's constitutional right under the Fifth Amendment. The right of an accused person to refuse to testify, which had been in England merely a rule of evidence, was so important to our forefathers that they raised it to the dignity of a constitutional enactment and it has been recognized as 'one of the most valuable prerogatives of the citizen' . . . The privilege against self-incrimination would be reduced to a hollow mockery if its exercise could be taken as equivalent either to a confession of guilt or a conclusive presumption of perjury. The privilege serves to protect the innocent who otherwise might be ensnared by ambiguous circumstances."

SOME IRONIES: The vigorous defense of the Fifth was not without its paradoxes. The majority decision was written by Justice Tom Clark who as Attorney General staked out the general lines of repression for his successor Herbert Brownell. In the decision itself, Justice Clark referred to the Ullmann case a month ago in which the Court seemed to many observers to be undermining the Fifth by upholding the "immunity" law which forces a witness to testify in exchange for guarantees admittedly limited and dubious.

Nevertheless, the Slochower decision was certain to have wide effects on civil liberties in general and specifically on the witch-hunting of New York City's Board of Education. Dr. Slochower had taught German literature at Brooklyn for 27 years. When called before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in 1952, he testified that he was not then a Communist, was willing to answer all questions about himself and his associates after 1941, but claimed protection of the Fifth on questions dealing with the years 1940 and 1941. His claim was not questioned by the committee.

INFERENCES REJECTED: He was immediately suspended from his teaching post and three days later notified that he was fired under Section 903 of the City Charter. That section makes automatic the dismissal of any city employe who refuses to answer any questions on Fifth Amendment grounds. Before the Supreme Court, Board of Education lawyers argued that only two inferences could be drawn from a claim of the Fifth: the witness was either guilty of a crime or falsely invoking the privilege to avoid answering the question for other reasons. Either way, said the lawyers, there were grounds for dismissal. The Court ruled against such reasoning and branded Section 903 unconstitutional.

Dr. Slochower told a press conference after the decision:

"I am naturally glad I won the case but more important is the meaning and the import of the decision for the country as a whole. Perhaps from now on it will be a little more difficult to suspect people because they stand by the Constitution."

The immediate effect was the reinstatement of Dr. Slochower to the Brooklyn faculty, as soon as the decision makes its way through legal channels. But Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, made it plain that, Supreme Court or no, Dr. Slochower would not resume teaching. Dr. Gideonse said:

"After the reinstatement, Prof Slochower will . . . be suspended on charges that will be professionally appropriate."

THIRTY OTHERS: He said the charges would deal with "untruthfulness and perjury." Dr. Slochower said he would welcome a "full hearing" on any such charges and had demanded such a trial when he was abruptly dismissed. The College will now have to grant him a departmental trial and in the meantime pay him back salary for more than three years, an estimated $30,000.

The fate of 30 other teachers fired under 903 (13 by the Bd. of Higher Education and 17 by the Bd. of Education) was uncertain. Teachers Union Pres. Abraham Lederman said:

"We are confident that the school officials will now take the necessary steps to make amends in every way possible for these illegal dismissals. We trust that they will forthwith return these 30 teachers to the classrooms from which they have been improperly kept for three years."

A number of the victimized teachers are directly connected with the Slochower case by advance understandings between Teachers Union lawyers and the Bd. of Education. But these are only a handful of the victims of N.Y. school witchhunts. Some 300 teachers have been forced out of the system in one way or another by inquisitions.

PROBES TO GO ON: Special counsels Michael Castaldi (Bd. of Higher Education) and Saul Moskoff (Bd. of Education) said their probes would go on as usual. They warned that teachers, encouraged by the Slochower decision to take the Fifth in answering their questions, would still be charged with insubordination, unbecoming conduct and refusal to cooperate. Since 1953 the probers have used such pretexts in most cases rather than Section 903.

School authorities elsewhere also indicated a defiance of the decision's spirit and an eagerness to find ways around the letter of it. The West Virginia Bd. of Education said it regretted the ruling prevented the immediate dismissal of English teacher Nathaniel Bond who had cited the Fifth before a Congressional committee. The Board added that it would not renew Bond's contract when it expires May 31.

Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.) saw a threat to states' rights. He said:

Liberation, Paris

"It works out just right—now you'll have clean feet for Rainier's wedding."

"If this decision stands, it may be impossible for states and their subdivisions to protect themselves from Communist infiltration and influence."

THE ALARMISTS: States' righters, previously shaken by the Steve Nelson decision against state "anti-subversion" laws, found still another champion in Rep. James Donovan (R-N.Y.) who filed a bill stipulating that the Smith Act is not to be used to prevent states from witch-hunting on their own.

The N.Y. **Daily Mirror** in an alarmed editorial (4/12) supported the Donovan bill and warned that Justice Tom Clark's decision meant that citizens "can be forced to entrust the care and education of their children to a Communist, a seditionist, an atheist, a racketeer, if such a person pleads the privilege of the Fifth Amendment."

—Los Angeles Times, April 3

CORLISS LAMONT'S NEWEST BOOK

'Freedom Is As Freedom Does'

By Dan Gillmor

(Author of "Fear, the Accuser")

"I LOVE my government," said former Senator Harry P. Cain in a recent—and otherwise exemplary—address before the New York Civil Liberties Union. Mr. Cain is both a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board and a spectacularly contradictory recruit to the cause of civil liberty. There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of his revulsion from the sinister methods of the Decade of Conformity, but the differences between him and another civil libertarian, Corliss Lamont, are as vast as they are instructive.

We may mention, for example, the matter of some 30 years' longer devotion to the cause. But let that pass. A man must begin some time, and Mr. Cain is better welcomed late than never. In passing, let it be noted too, that Mr. Cain is an ex-Senator, while Mr. Lamont's candidacy for that office fell rather emphatically short of the number of votes required for success.

THE DIAGNOSIS: Vast as these differences may be, there is one greater and it may be discerned in that one sentence: "I love my government."

"I love my **country**," Mr. Lamont would say, and indeed he has said it most eloquently and believably in this chronicle* of the American symptoms of a 30-year, world-wide plague of fear, suspicion, repression and tyranny.

Strictly speaking, Mr. Lamont should be referred to as Dr. Lamont, for he is a Doctor of Philosophy as well as a teacher, lecturer and author. And in this work, the title of doctor is most appropriate. Here our national disease is diagnosed. Its pustules, abscesses and cancerous growths are described and dissected. The odor of the pus of repression is stifling, but the sweet pungency of antiseptic is also present.

IT WAS UNANIMOUS. For this book is a very telling antidote for the toxic atmosphere we have been breathing. It is more comprehensive than any other single work on the subject. If you think you know something about civil liberty in these United States, you'll know a good deal more when Mr. Lamont is done with you.

—Gropper in The Nation

In a tightly written chapter, "Suppression Through Law," for instance, Mr. Lamont has singled out eight "anti-subversive laws that violate the Constitution and the Bill of Rights." They are the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act, the Communist Control Act, the Immunity Act, the Welker Act, the Expatriation Act, the Taft-Hartley Act and the McCarran-Walter Act. These are all the law of the land—unless the Supreme Court decides to the contrary.

Do you know what they provide? Did you know, for instance, that all printing presses and machinery, including duplicating machines, must be registered with the Federal government if they belong to "Communist" organizations or—and feel the stretch in this elastic provision—groups in which Communist organizations, officers or members "have an interest." Such is the Welker Act, passed unanimously in 1954 by a Congress "terrified," as Mr. Lamont remarks, "of the written word."

THE TRAMPLED VINES: This is not a pretty picture, but disease is not a thing of beauty. No doubt many will regard it as most unpatriotic to expose Columbia's sores to the view of friend and foe alike. They will be found among the "lovers of government." Corliss Lamont is not one of these, certainly not of this present government, for he regards it as one of the principal foci of infection.

Don't imagine, however, that Mr. Lamont is an advocate of national suicide. Even liberty must have its limitations. Mr. Lamont is willing to concede greater restrictions upon its scope in certain well-defined times of crisis, but he also demands that there must be preserved the mechanism of extending freedom once more to the maximum limits consistent with an orderly, peaceful society.

In more ways than one this book is timely. It comes at a moment when Mr. Lamont and his co-workers in the vineyard must carry on in a new way under new circumstances. It is good, very good, to have so comprehensive a picture of the recent past to remind us of how many of the vines have been bruised, trampled and uprooted. He warns us that if the tide has turned, the current must now run out long and powerfully if many of the noblest structures of our democratic tradition are not to remain partially submerged.

THE LOOSENED GRIP: There is surely much work to be done, but perhaps the task is less forbidding than Mr. Lamont believes. We seem to be entering a new kind of time, both here and abroad. The mindless, self-righteous tyranny of kings, commissars and bureaucrats is perceptibly losing its grip on our planet, as mankind gradually emerges from the shadow of starvation and war.

Much has been said about America's technological contribution to civilization, but today much of the rest of the world is creating its own elaborate machinery of material production. It may well be that our great monument is not to be the automobile or the automatic machine, but our tradition of political liberty. If other nations choose to copy it, we, or our children, will have great cause to rejoice. And if it is there to be copied, it will be because of the work of men like Corliss Lamont.

***FREEDOM IS AS FREEDOM DOES,** by Corliss Lamont, Horizon Press, New York, 322 pp., $3.50.

THE ALGERIAN FREEDOM FIGHT—II

What will bring peace to North Africa?

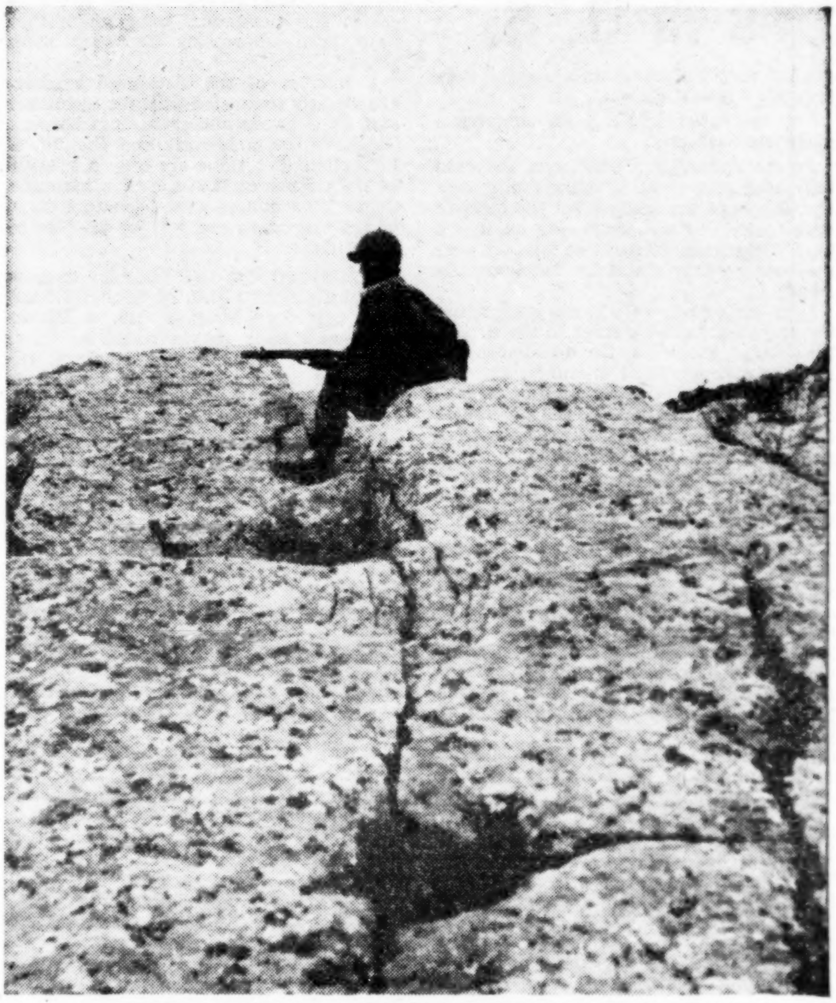
By Tabitha Petran
(Second of two articles)

PARIS

IN LATE 1954 when the revolution for independence began in Algeria the French threw against it 60,000 troops. Today a French army of 350,000, including crack troops formerly stationed in W. Germany, is fighting in Algeria, supported by naval and air units. And plans to raise the number to 500,000 are in preparation.

For France a military solution in Algeria is clearly impossible. The more French troops, the more skirmishes and battles, the more French soldiers killed. Why then have successive governments chosen to continue the war rather than negotiate a solution as has been done in Morocco and Tunisia? According to French propaganda, the war must go on because "Algeria is France." But Algerian nationalists have another explanation.

France, they say, will negotiate only when the wealth and property of its "colonials" and capitalists are guaranteed—as they have been in Morocco and Tunisia. In Morocco, Sultan Ben Yousef and the Istiqlal party, by virtue of their own vested interests and links to French capital, have given their French opposite numbers guarantees against confiscation of property and agrarian reform. In Tunisia, the French would have preferred to wait till after the recent elections before granting independence. But they risked little: there was never much doubt of the outcome. And Bourghiba, by placing at the head of the government a big and wealthy landowner, has quieted French fears.



. . . AND DREAMING OF A VILLAGE IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE?
A French paratrooper scouting the rocky terrain of Algeria.

NO GUARANTEES: In Algeria, however, the situation is very different. The MNA (Mouvement Nationale Algerien) will give colonials and French capitalists no such guarantees. Its mass is made up of workers, the landless, the disinherited. Land reform looms large in its program after winning independence. Some 9.2 million hectares of land have been stolen by the French from Algerians since the occupation. Algerians mean to have it back. If Messali, MNA's leader now in exile, were a big proprietor, or the MNA willing to guarantee French wealth and property, the French government, according to MNA spokesmen, would be ready enough to negotiate.

Since it is, under present circumstances, unwilling to negotiate, the government is trying to solve its Algerian dilemma by three different means—all applied simultaneously: (1) to destroy the Algerian resistance; (2) to set up some "nationalist" grouping which could be presented as the spokesman for Algeria and which would give France the guarantees it demands; (3) to keep the war going indefinitely so as to give the colonials and the capitalists a chance to get back their investments—to sell out, as some are now doing.

GIFTS FROM U.S.A.: To destroy the liberation movement France is using Lidice methods: bombarding and firing towns and villages, shooting down their fleeing inhabitants, men, women and children alike.

In March alone, 4,000 were killed on the coast of Palestro where napalm was used; nearly 1,000 at Tevessa; 300 on the coast of Bougie, 3,000 at Colo, to mention but a few. All these were civilians. Use of napalm and the U.S. gift to France of helicopters, the most murderous weapons of guerrilla war, have profoundly shocked Algerians who had—on the basis of their wartime contact with Americans—expected at the least a benevolent neutrality. If they long believed Washington's professions of anti-colonialism, they know better now.

In its efforts to find a puppet "'nationalist" group to set up against MNA, the government is pursuing an inspiration of Pierre Mendes-France. According to Algerian Nationalists, he and other French politicians were responsible for the brief existence of a national liberation front in Cairo last year. And after this was dissolved these French politicos tried to build up a coalition based (1) on dissident elements from the liberation army of Kabylie; (2) on Arab-Berber divisions, and (3) on the coalition known as L'UDMA (Union Democratique du Manifest Algeriene), headed by Ferhat Abbas. This collection includes the "group of 61"—deputies in the Algerian parliament, beni-oui-ouis (toadies to the French) of the first order, and others expelled from MNA.

By giving this group much publicity and simultaneously imprisoning MNA militants (16,000 are now in jail) the government hopes to clear the way for installing its group to "speak for Algeria." If it could succeed in this, it would then give its group repressive weapons so that it could itself destroy the liberation movement.

FIGHT TO THE END: In its efforts to keep the war going, the government is talking out of both sides of its mouth, speaking of its willingness to recognize "the personality" of Algeria, while claiming there is no one with whom to negotiate. At the same time, it reinforces its troops and steps up its atrocities. Thus, the colonials and capitalists win time to get out if they want to.

Against this French strategy the liberation movement is prepared to fight on indefinitely. It knows, even if France does not, that the French cannot regain control of the situation in Algeria. But the Algerian nationalists would prefer a peaceful solution through negotiations.

They are well aware that to their intelligentsia France is not only an oppressing colonial power but a gateway to world culture and ideas. Algerians are sincere in wanting to maintain special relations with France, once independence is achieved. But the longer the fighting continues the more difficult maintenance of such ties will become.

Algerians are also, if nationalist spokesmen are to be believed, a little bitter about the attitude of the French left. They recall that French unions went on a general strike in 1925 in support of Abdl Krim; that Communists organized international brigades to aid the Spanish Republic; that in the Indo-China war Communist-led unions refused to handle any ships carrying war cargo. For us, they say, the French left has done nothing because we are not a Communist movement.

STRIKES FOR PEACE: This complaint however is somewhat unfair. In the last weeks, French unions, Communist and Socialist, have begun one-hour protest strikes demanding peace in Algeria. The Communist vote for the "extraordinary powers" prevented that vote from being one for all-out war. Communist-Socialist unity, constantly growing, has forced the government to hesitate.

A real popular movement for peace in Algeria is developing far more rapidly than it did at the time of the Indo-China war. This is partly because Algeria is closer, partly because the Indo-China war was fought by a mercenary army, while this one is a French conscript army. Even some French in Algeria itself have, in face of the terror organized by the poujadists and colonials, protested against the "anti-terrorist" organization of colonials and demanded a peaceful solution. Of the 1,200,000 French in Algeria, 800,000 are workers and their families, and quite a few are part of the European Movement Against Colonialism.

"The future depends on us," a spokesman for the French left said recently. "The crucial question is whether we are strong enough to keep the war from getting bigger." As of this writing, the future looked sombre. But it is at least worth pointing out that the left in France has proved strong enough to keep the one fascist party—the poujadists—from holding any public meetings or demonstrations.

Faculties revolt

(Continued from Page 1)

ment of general principles. Countering the go-slow proposals, Rutgers Prof. William Heckle said:

"If criticism is to be directed on the committee it should not be because of speed, but because of its too long delay."

The great majority pressed on impatiently to the censure motion and the far-reaching resolutions on academic freedom. These denounced firings for refusal to take loyalty oaths or for claiming Constitutional protection.

ONLY VALID GROUNDS: The adopted report said:

"Removal can be justified only on the ground established by evidence of unfitness to teach because of incompetence, lack of scholarly objectivity or integrity, serious misuse of the classroom or of academic prestige, gross personal misconduct or conscious participation against the government. The same principle applies (even more strongly) to alleged involvement in Communist-inspired activities or views and to refusal to take a trustee-imposed disclaimer oath."

The report specifically condemned "dismissal for avowed past or present membership in the Communist Party taken by itself." It tallied the witch-hunt's toll of the many "intelligent, fine-spirited young men and women" driven away from the schools in a time of teacher shortage and mounting enrollments. For victims of the witch-hunt the convention sought "the aid of the nation's colleges, universities and learned societies in an effort to secure . . . positions commensurate with their qualifications."

Other resolutions endorsed the Supreme Court desegregation decision and called "attention to the right of every teacher to discuss the meaning of academic freedom, including the right to learn without regard to racial considerations. This includes his right . . . to be active as an individual and as a member of organizations . . . "

FOCUS ON NEW YORK: The delegates called on the U. S. government to facilitate the granting of passports to U. S. scholars and to remove barriers for foreign scholars and students seeking to come to the U. S. They condemned all moves to censor school texts.

The voluminous report criticized New York's Board of Higher Education. It denounced the "special investigating unit's and its special counsel's alleged pressure upon faculty witnesses to inform against others and the asserted practice of requiring accused faculty members to overcome . . . allegations based on secret information of undisclosed origin."

It condemned suspension without pay, now routine in New York academic purges.

The convention asked the repeal of the Feinberg Law "under which this evil has arisen."

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A POLITICAL GAME?

The civil rights plans and what they provide

By Eugene Gordon

IT WAS KNOWN on Capitol Hill as early as April 1 what the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights proposals would be. The Baltimore **Afro-American** (4/14) accused the Republicans of purposely leaking details as "part of the strategy to confound and confuse the entire civil rights move in Congress and, at the same time, show up the Democrats." One Democratic Congressman active in the civil rights field—California's James Roosevelt—responded:

"What political game is being played at the expense of the rights of so many American citizens? If the effort to enact civil rights legislation fails this year, the blame must rest wholly on the lack of leadership and program by the Eisenhower administration."

Roosevelt urged his party to act on its own civil rights program the day Congress returned from Easter vacation. On April 10 Atty. Gen. Brownell publicized a letter he had sent both houses outlining the Administration's first major civil rights legislation. The letter proposed (1) a bipartisan 6-man commission on civil rights, appointed by the President, to "investigate allegations" and "study and collect information concerning" violations of civil rights laws; (2) setting up in the Justice Dept. a full-time asst. attorney general in charge of civil rights matters; (3) amendments to the "existing civil voting statute" to punish those who deprive citizens of their right to vote.

THE BEANSHOOTER: The next day, in a two-hour session with the House Judiciary Committee, Brownell urged "prompt" enactment of the program. He said the Justice Dept. would immediately prepare legislation to back up his call for voting and civil rights of Negro and other minorities. Committee chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) said Brownell was "offering a beanshooter instead of the gun that is needed." He and Rep. Roosevelt pointed out that the Administration's program contained proposals already covered in the omnibus civil-rights program sponsored by the Brooklyn lawmaker. While Roosevelt thought Brownell's proposals "sound", even if "somewhat overdue," he suggested that a bipartisan civil rights program might be mapped from them.

The N. Y. **Herald Tribune's** Rowland Evans Jr. said Republican strategy "will aim at substituting the quite moderate Administration plan for the far more drastic Celler program," and predicted Southern support. House Judiciary Committee approval of the Brownell "package" is expected, to be followed by burial in the Dixiecrat-dominated Rules Committee. Only a discharge petition with 218 signatures—a constitutional majority of the House—would be able to get it on the floor for debate and action.

A BASIC RIGHT: Celler has also proposed an anti-lynching bill which declares that "the right to be free from lynching is a right of all persons within the jurisdiction of the U. S.," and would make it a Federal crime for "any assemblage of two or more persons to commit or attempt to commit violence against any person because of race, color, religion or national origin."

The law would declare it a Federal crime for "a mob to employ or attempt to employ any physical violence as correction or punishment against any person in the custody of any peace officer, or suspected of, charged with or convicted of any criminal offense, for the purpose of preventing the arrest, trial or punishment by law of such person." Any participant in mob violence would face a maximum penalty of $10,000 fine or 20 years' imprisonment or both. Both state and Federal officers who failed to make "all diligent effort" to prevent a lynching would be guilty of a felony and subject to a fine of $5,000 or imprisonment for five years.

MAJORITY VIEW: In addition, Celler's omnibus bill contains all except one of Brownell's points—the right of the Attorney General to bring civil suit to prevent illegal interference and denial of the right to vote. Celler said he would add that proposal.

Rep. Kenneth Keating (R-N.Y.) said he believed the House would act favorably on the Administration's proposals. He thought it would be a "mistake" to try to go further. But N. Y. **Times** correspondent Joseph A. Loftus shared the majority Capitol Hill opinion that "there would be no final enactment [of civil rights] legislation at this session, [since] in the Senate a minority can doom a bill by filibuster."

The NAACP last week urged "speedy action" on civil rights bills while endorsing Brownell's proposals. Exec. Secy. Wilkins said "the submission of the Administration's program . . . should not be used as an excuse to delay prompt action on pending . . . measures, some of which have already received committee approval."

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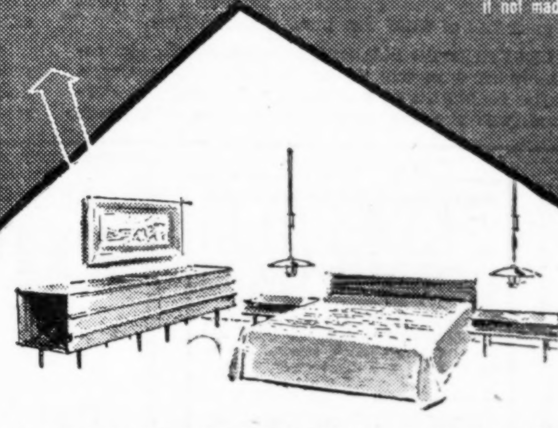

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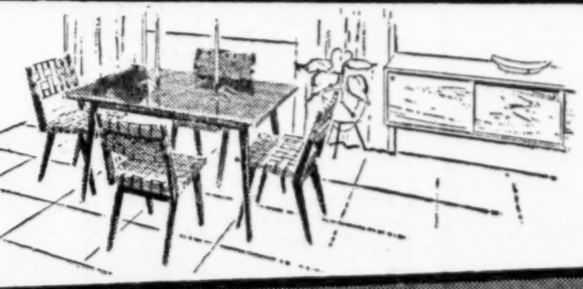

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BEHIND THE TRAGEDY AT PARRIS ISLAND

They learned to hate the Marine Corps

The writer of the following article went through training in the Marine Corps camp on Parris Island, S.C. He also spent 14 months in the Marines during the Korean War.

THE HURRIED TRIP of the Marine Corps Commandant, Gen. Pate, to Parris Island to investigate the drowning there of six Marine recruits, may have been motivated in part by a fear that an incident of this kind may result in reduced appropriations for the Corps. Most of the brutality and excesses at Parris Island are perpetrated out of sight, often in the dead of night. There is a fear, sometimes openly expressed, of Congressional committees that might investigate.

Any thinking person who has gone through recruit training at Parris Island knows that this institution is an anachronism. From the moment of his arrival on the island, the recruit is kicked, cuffed and abused to force him into the mold of the Corps.

On the very first day, we were herded through the hygienic unit to be shorn of civilian clothes and hair. Afterwards we formed outside to mail home our civilian clothes. Those who were illiterate and consequently unable to follow directions for addressing the packages were singled out for particular brutality. One man was knocked unconscious and left propped against a telephone pole.

"COMPRENDO" BY FOOT: Particularly shocking was the treatment of Puerto Rican draftees. A group of them was brought into our platoon and we were ordered to record the serial numbers of any currency in our possession. Puerto Ricans steal, we were told, and this precaution would facilitate recovery of any missing money. Failure to understand English was a crime. "No comprendo" was often answered by a kick: "I'll teach you comprendo with my foot." One Puerto Rican was confined in a wall locker by the drill instructor and forced to count cadence at the top of his lungs, in Spanish.

There was a widespread feeling that the most stupid and sadistic NCO's were selected as drill instructors. We were always glad to see our sergeant in front of us because this was the only assurance that he wasn't behind us.

"Extra instructions" was the euphemistic name for night exercises like the one that caused the death of six recruits. The whole system was based on punishing the entire group for the infractions of one man. One night the sergeant slit open the back of a tent with a bayonet to surprise a man smoking a forbidden cigaret. There was no sleep for any one of us that night, and if none was drowned it was because this exercise took place on high ground. Digging foxholes with spoons, doing the manual of arms with full locker boxes and similar training were instituted. Marching at night with a pack full of sand was part of this regime.

THEY LEARNED TO HATE: The indoctrination of recruits includes a course in the history of the Corps. Among the highlights of this history, as taught at Parris Island, was the victory of the Marines at Harpers Ferry over John Brown and his men, and the subduing of the "bandits" in Nicaragua in the 1920's.

How does this kind of training affect people? It is difficult to generalize. The draftees learned to hate the Marine Corps right off the bat. Only volunteers are taken now. We ran into one product of this training on whom it succeeded. He was a boy-sergeant just back from the Far East. In Korea, he told us, he was driving a truck one day when he saw some wounded "gooks," as he called them, lying beside the road. He got out and took a few shots at them. Next day, on his way back, he said he got out again to have a look. "They were dead," he told us. Robbing Korean prostitutes was another of his accomplishments. "They were glad we didn't kill them," he said, in explanation.

WHY THEY VOLUNTEER: Some may say that the six drowning victims were volunteers and should have had enough sense to stay out of the Marines. That's using the word voluntary in a very narrow sense, because most young men enlist either one step ahead of the draft board or because they are compelled by dim prospects for a good job, an education, a secure and happy life. If the top brass uses the sergeant in the newest tragedy as a fall guy, the real culprits will remain unpunished. This awful accident may be another straw on the camel's back—maybe not the last straw, but one of many.

If their death has contributed to public protest and revulsion that will lead to cutting the military clique and the military establishment down to size, the six may not have died in vain.

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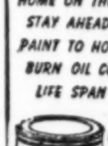
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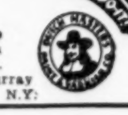

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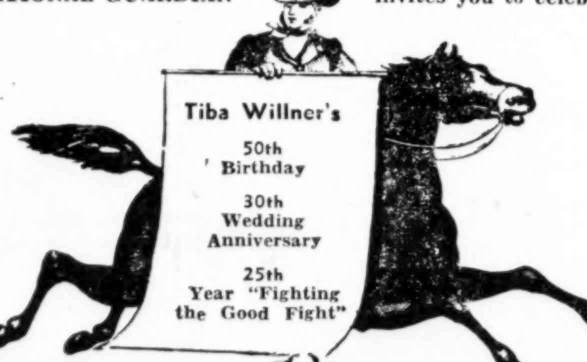

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CALENDAR

Chicago

Great Soviet Cellist, **MSTISLAV ROSTROPOVICH**, Orchestra Hall, Mon., May 7. Choice seats. AN 3-1877 or come to suite 403, 189 Madison.

PAUL SWEEZEY OF MONTHLY REVIEW SPEAKS ON "FOREIGN AFFAIRS 1956," FRI., MAY 4, 8:15 P.M. ROOM 833. FINE ARTS BUILDING, 410 S. MICHIGAN AV. ADMISSION $1.

WED., MAY 2. Discussion of new Soviet 5-year plan with LeRoy Wolins, graduate of U. of Chi. Planning Dept. 8 p.m. Rm. 205, 189 W. Madison St. Chi. Coun. of Am.-Sov. Friendship.

L.K.M. CHORUS
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Presents
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The Grand Duchess of Gerolstein
(Comic Opera in three acts)

Sun., April 29th Curtain 3:30 p.m.
Milda Theatre
3140 S. Halsted Street, Chicago
Admission $1.80 including tax

Los Angeles

CARL BRADEN
Reports on his 3,800 mile tour of the South. Sat., May 5, 8 p.m.
Park Manor, 607 S. Western Ave.
Donation: 50 cents
Proceeds to Braden-Wade Defense Com.
Auspieces:: The American Socialist

Newark

RALLY: CIVIL RIGHTS-CIVIL LIBERTIES, A Common Bond. Speakers: Howard Fast, William L. Patterson, and Martha Stone (N.J. Smith Act Defendant). Fri, May 4, 8:30 p.m. at Masonic Community Center, High & Kinney Streets. Entertainment—Noted folk singers. Adm. 75c incl. tax.

New Haven, Conn.

FREEDOM RALLY for NEGRO RIGHTS
New possibilities civil rights affairs. Sun., April 22, 2 p.m., Hotel Garde, New Haven. Sponsor: Conn. Volunteers for Civil Rights.

San Francisco

SAVE THE DATE! JUNE 1ST.
Celebration honoring Sidney Roger's 15 years on radio. Dessert & coffee. Prominent Speakers, Fine Entertainment, $1.50 at Merchandise Mart Club. For tickass write: 150 Golden Gate Av.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"CRASH OF SILENCE."** April 21. The adjustment of parents to the handicap of deafness in their child told with memorable compassion. Showings: Sat. only, 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm: Members, $1.; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **THE MAN IN THE WHITE SUIT.**

Hear **DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN**, author "The Great Tradition in English Literature: "From Shakespeare to Shaw," discuss Shakespeare's political play **"RICHARD THE THIRD,"** Wed., April 25, 8:30 p.m. Auspices: Village ALP, 28 Greenwich Av. All welcome Adm. free.

Sun., April 22, 7 p.m.
DR. LOUIS HARAP, editor of "Jewish Life," will speak on Israel. Edith Segal will teach folk dances at Jewish Peoples Philharmonic Chorus, 189—2nd Av. (2nd floor).

Tchaikovsky Cultural Club invites you to **SPRING "VECHERINKA"** Sat., April 21, 8:30 at 189—2nd Av. (above Phoenix Theatre). Surprise entertainment, folk and social dancing. Candlelight buffet. Contribution $1.

APRIL 28TH. RESERVE THE DATE! German American Annual Banquet, Yugoslav-American Home, 405 W. 41 St. 5 course dinner, excellent entertainment. Please make reservations: German American, 130 E. 16 St. ORegon 4-4476

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Tuesday, April 24:
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with
DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN
8-10 p.m. Thursdays
Thursday, April 26.
STEPHEN CRANE, FRANK NORRIS
JACK LONDON
Penthouse 10 A 59 W. 71 St.
Single Admission $1.50

Boro Pk. Meeting for **MORTON SOBELL**, "Prisoner on America's Conscience." Help win a new trial. Thurs., April 26, 8 p.m., Concordia Club (15 Av. & 49 St.), B'klyn. Subscription: 49c.

CLASSIFIED

General

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HOWARD FAST, Chairman

Provisional United Citizens Comm. For May Day — JU 6-6498

Rally to Commemorate 13th Anniversary of the

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CHANNEL 13—WATV
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Philadelphia group fights repression

A GROUP of Philadelphians has announced the organization of the Greater Philadelphia "Committee to Defend the Constitution." The announcement said the group's chief activities would be rallying support for repeal of "the un-American provisions of the Smith and McCarran Acts, the defense of those prosecuted under these laws and a halt to the persecutions by investigating committees of loyal Americans for their thoughts and associations."

Officers were listed as Miss Wilhelmina Carver, chairman; Mrs. Juliette E. Forbes, treas. Mr. Jack S. Zucker, exec. secy. Headquarters are at 312 Hart Bldg., Broad and Columbia Sts.

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the SPECTATOR

Last ten days

BERLIN IN LATE SUMMER 1945 was a vast silent heap of rubble and charred ruins. As I rode through a once splendid avenue, with just room enough for the jeep between the incredible piles of brick and twisted metal, or walked through a street that lay as a footpath in the quiet of death, one insistent question kept pounding through my mind: How could a whole people allow themselves to reach a point where this could happen to them?

The question came back the other evening at a showing of a film produced in Vienna and playing at the World Theater in New York. It is called **The Last Ten Days**, written by Erich Maria Remarque and directed by one of the great film makers of all time, G. W. Pabst. It is spoken in German, with excellent English titles. It relates in grimmest detail the last ten days of Hitler and the last ten days of the Thousand Year Reich. The action takes place almost entirely in the bunker that Hitler had constructed for himself and the German General Staff under the Reichschancellery. Brilliantly played, it gives no quarter and spares nothing; it is unrelieved tragedy that rolls with fascinating insistence to its inevitable end.

ALBIN SKODA
As Adolf Hitler

THE VOICE OF AUTHORITY: And the inevitable end contains in it part of the answer to the question I put above: this could happen to the German people or to any people who will accept without thinking and without protest the voice of Authority—even if it is a maniac authority—simply because it is authority.

That, I think, is the heart of this film which trains its relentless camera on the broken dictator in his last madness, ordering the movement of armies that no longer exist, flooding the subways full of wounded and homeless because they were not worthy of him, executing the miserable toadies who had enough sense of reality left to try to desert him.

Here are the German generals, corrupt and cynical, swilling their brandy in the Goetterdaemmerung, oblivious to the suffering of their soldiers, full of self-pity—and transfixed before Hitler by the same blind obedience to Authority which they expected in their underlings.

ONE FICTITIOUS PERSON: There are gripping scenes: the drunken conversation between two generals in which one insists that there can be no God because if there were, then how could he suffer such a rotten creature as himself to exist; the subway tableau in which a group of strangers turn on a would-be informer; the macabre dance between a wounded soldier and a PX waitress as choking fumes invade the bunker; the fantastic wedding of Hitler and Eva Braun.

It is perhaps the most remarkable commentary on this film, based on actual events, that the one note of hope is introduced by the one fictitious character in the film. He is a young captain who arrives at the bunker to get help for his surrounded regiment and remains to die in his disillusionment. But before he dies he forms a touching relationship with a soldier hardly in his teens to whom he passes on the message for the youth of the future: Don't ever say "Jawohl" again—don't ever say "Yes, sir" to Authority that orders you to help it destroy mankind.

Never again. It's something to think about, isn't it, when you read stories of charming young German officers of the new German army who have come here to train at U. S. army camps; and other stories about charming American officers pushing buttons to set off H-Bomb explosions in the Marshall Islands to destroy God knows how many unborn children.

But then perhaps Mr. Dulles and the Pentagon are really being farsighted in their preventive war against the unborn. After all, some of them might grow up to be socialists.

—James Aronson

May Day rally in N. Y. Apr. 30

THE PARK DEPT. has granted a permit for a May Day celebration in Union Square Monday, April 30, the Provisional United Citizens Comm. for May Day 1956 announced last week.

Howard Fast, acting chairman, said the committee expected the largest turnout in recent years.

NEW YORK

PEOPLE'S ARTISTS
will sing out in a
MOTHER'S DAY TRIBUTE
to
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
Smith Act victim
FRI., MAY 4, 8 P.M.
Great Northern Hotel
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